1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 innovative patterns are also arising, particularly through the
178 fusing of traditional and Hindu patterns.

668 I do not want to portray this striking cultural development as more profane than it is by giving undue emphasis to its
177 connections with political objectives and pursuit of rank.
178 Nevertheless, one must begin by recognizing that this is its
668 source. As very grossly advocated by a somewhat naïve Santal
771 industrial worker who has become a "Member of the Legislative Assembly," the movement is spoken of in the following terms: "We should not leave our religion; we should continue to use rice beer; we should have our worship at the Sacred Grove; also we should not stop eating beef. If we stop eating
[192] it our Santal caste will be gone. We will call our religion *Sarna Dhorom** and will tell everyone that our religion is *Sarna Dhorom*." Another Santal entered the conversation saying, "Yes, like Mussulman *Dhorom*, Christian *Dhorom*, so we will call ours *Sarna Dhorom*." A third Santal said, "Yes, if we say *Santal Dhorom*, that is our caste; as the Christians have a church, so our 'temple' (*mandir*; Hindi) is the Sacred Grove."
• 536 The MLA brought the conversation to a close and down to
668 "practical" matters by saying: "We will maintain our 'drama club'; we will keep our 'culture'; if we keep our 'culture' the government will give us money; if you do a drama I will bring big officers of the Jharkhand party to see."

668 There are sections of Jharkhand political rallies with such a
177 concentration on culture that one might imagine himself at a
178 festival rather than a political meeting. The local club may perform a play at such a meeting; traditional dances may be

* *Sarna* is the Munda word for "Sacred Grove" (*Jaher* in Santali); *Dhorom* is the Oriya form meaning roughly "religion."

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668 both rescuing the prisoners and defeating the enemy. This play
792 is both a parable about duty, and, like the old myth of the
539 caste functions of the clans, a charter for present independence. In addition, the existence of such a written epic raises the rank value of Santal culture; to hear Santal praise the play is to erase all doubts about the significance of this objective. The historicity of the play is provided with archaeological support by sophisticated Santal who note that an abandoned old fort far to the north was probably the seat of the old kingdom. Less sophisticated Santal remark that the Guru did not make up the play, but that it was the result of revelation preceded by meditation, fasting, etc.

212 It is also the Guru who created the original Santal script.
668 Numerous booklets explaining it have been distributed, and
792 there are many Santal, particularly among the industrial workers, who can read it. Formerly all Santali writing was in Nagari, Bengali, or Roman script as developed by the missionaries. Wherever there are large gatherings today, Santal may be seen reading particularly the words to new songs in the new script. The connection of the script with solidarity is obvious to all; the Guru reports that he was asked by the former Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj to cease propagating the script because it was divisive; he claims to have replied that he would gladly do so if the Mahārājā would see to it that the Oriya script was also abandoned.

• 536 Several drama clubs have sprung up to perform *Kherwar*
668 *Bir* and some other recent plays. One particularly interesting one is called *Olong*, or "Fate" (*Olong* = fate, Oriya) and concerns the schism between rich and poor. It urges magnanimity on the former and curtailment of "envy" and "pleasure" on the latter.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

d. Mimicking.

We have something to make people in a way enjoy themselves, this is the game of mimicking. Only jocular people can perform this. Seeing this, people laugh awfully. In this game they show the faults of people by mimicking, e. g., how husband and wife act towards each other when in the sulks, how husband and wife go to her father's house, the sham crying of widows, the way of walking, dancing, eating, working, married people's behaviour, and so on. When they mimic women, they put on clothes like a woman, and making their voice sound like theirs they give themselves airs, and the people laugh, holding their stomachs. 536

e. Catching fish.

Catching fish is also joyful work. They catch fish in ricefield ponds, in dams, and in rivers. The headman of the village inside the boundaries of which the place for catching fish lies, makes a public announcement. About noon on the day fixed, the people of the neighbourhood gather there. If there is any impediment in connexion with the bongas, they make a sacrifice; thereupon they catch fish with nets. Some people also catch with their hands; they start a tremendous noise; they enjoy themselves greatly. When they have done catching, they collect the small fish in the different nets, and if there are big fishes, they cut them into pieces; thereupon they collect half of the big fishes from every net, and all these the people of the village get. They make three portions of these. They give one portion to the owner of the ricefield pond or the dam, and two portions the people of the village divide among themselves. If the catching is in a river, the village headman[9] of the boundary gets one portion, and if it is within the boundaries of two villages, the headmen of the two villages get one portion, divided into equal half-portions, and the remaining two portions the people of the two villages get. We have a special way of killing fish; this they call fish-poisoning. They bring different kinds of roots and stuff from the forest and crush this and throw it into the water. Then the fishes become intoxicated, and some of them die and float up. Then they are easily caught. The names of the poisons are: the root of the stemless Date, the fruit of corco, jîoti grass, the bark of kumbir, the bark of sakri phol, the fruit of lgig, and others. This we call hay (fish-poison)[9]. 226 [824]

Concerning our every day catching of fish we act as follows: A couple of men invite each other to come along, and baling out the water in a ravine or the pool of a ricefield they catch the fish. During the rainy season we make weir-baskets and set them during the night in a ricefield or a river. Fishes are caught in this, and in the morning we shake them out and bring them.

[9] Of the poisons mentioned, the stemless Date is the Phoenix sylvestris, Roxb.; corco is the Cassyta tomentosa, Roxb.; jîoti is a grass growing in ricefields and moist places; kumbir is Carapa arborea, Roxb.; sakri phol is a tree, sometimes planted by the Paharias; lgig is Sterculia densiflorum, Lam.

224 who shot the deer, him they give the hind half; and of the head they give him one split
[793] piece, of the spleen one split piece and of the liver one split piece. To the village priest
they give the flesh on both sides of the backbone and a part of the liver, to offer to the
[622] spirits. For the village headman they take out one thigh as his part of the rump
belonging to the killer, the village headman gets the upper part of this; what is below
this his deputy gets, and the end of the leg the Godet gets. And the kettle-drum drummer
gets for himself a separate part of this. The remaining flesh the hunters divide equally
among themselves, and for the men who did not go to hunt, they leave a little flesh, and
this they apportion to them, house by house; this portion they call an extra share (capo
joro). Of hares and peafowls the village priest has no right to get anything, neither has
[793] the village headman any right, nor have they any right to get an extra portion; of these
[622] only the one who shot gets his share, and the remaining flesh the hunters divide in equal
portions among themselves. They who carry get the belly, of deer and of hares. This
they call the belly for carrying. Of all kinds of birds the carriers get the gizzard.

The village priest wraps the flesh he is to offer up in a dry leaf and roasts it and offers it to The Five the Six, Pargana haram, Mâjhi haram, and Marâk buru; having offered it he eats the flesh.

The village headman has, by customary law, to give five half-seers of rice as a hunt bounty; this the hunters cook together with the flesh of the heads into a hash and eat. Thereupon they come to their respective homes with their portions. The shooter's rightful portion and the village headman's portion they carry along; the headman's portion they bring into his house, and the rightful portion of the killer of an animal into his house. They who carry and bring this, get beer and food at both places. In the house of the shooter they separate from his rightful portion the pot-flesh on the underside of the knee. This the sisters and daughters of the shooter get. However far away they may live, the shooter brings this to them and leaves it there, and these treat him to beer and food, and they look upon this as a great honour. His part of the head and the liver the shooter
[769] cooks with rice into a hash and offers this to the ancestors of his family.

g. Composing songs and the like.

538 Parables they have gradually composed, at different occasions. Taking up what has been seen, they have composed these. If a person suddenly speaks and reveals this or that, then others, thinking that this is good and fitting, will also speak the same, and thus it is spread about. Folk-tales and fairy-stories are not composed nowadays, only old ones are in vogue, learnt one after the other. Riddles we have also only old ones. To mimic no
• 536 one is able to learn, only by having a natural ability people are able to mimic, to show the faults of people. The songs are mostly old ones; still they are now and then com-
533 posing a few new ones. Men have composed riâja, matwar, and marriage songs, and